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ABSTRACT

The bureaucratic nature of school organizations is now commonly acknowledged. According to Carlson's description of four types of service organizations, school organizations are "domestic" rather than "wild" in that they do not have to compete with peer organizations for their own survival. To investigate the historical development and bureaucratization of the Riverside County (California) Superintendent of Schools Office since its creation in 1893, this study collected data from 26 interviews and from historical and scholarly works, documents, and empirical studies. The data were analyzed to determine the process of the county office's bureaucratization, and the data's implications for school administration. Findings indicate that the county office has evolved as a "wild" organization creating new services to meet its clients' needs. Once external societal pressures had established the need to provide educational support services to rural school districts and the county office had been set up to deliver these services, an internal bureaucratic, administratively hierarchized structure began to develop. The findings further suggest the need both for school administrator training in organizational differences between school types and for a comparative research project involving two county offices. (JBM)

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The Bureaucratization of a County Schools Office: An Historical Field Study of the County Superintendent of Schools Office in Riverside County, California

by

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It is commonly accepted today that school organizations are bureaucratic (Hoy and Miskel, 1978; Sergiovanni, Burlingame, Coombs, and Thurston, 1980). Public schools in this country began as small, simple common schools that generally consisted of one, possibley two, rooms, and one teacher. From these modest beginnings, schools have evolved into large, complex, multi-unit bureaucratic organizations.

This work investigated the process of bureaucratization as it occurred in a specific school organization, a county superintendent of schools office. The external and internal factors responsible for bureaucratization in a school organization were identified. In the process of this development a bureaucracy was established.

Additionally, it was found that not all school organizations share a common developmental history. Moreover, some types of school organizations have evoved to perform certain, rather specific types of functions. And, various kinds of schools have developed dependent relationships with and upon each other. At least in the Riverside County experience, an organization developed that adapted to the demands of its school district clients. This is considered to be a characteristic ascribed to "wild" service organizations.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

An organization is considered to be bureaucratic, or to have been bureaucratized, when it displays certain organizational features first described by Max Weber (Merton, Gray, Hockey and Selvin, 1952; Gerth and Mills, 1946). In bureaucratic organizations administrative positions are arranged in a hierarchy where the top or highest position possesses the most authority. Various sub-units exist in which specialists are employed who perform complex tasks that are specific to the particular sub-unit. A system of rules and procedures exists in a bureaucratic organization that is enforced by the organizations's administration in an impersonal manner designed to insure rational decision-making that promotes efficiency. Employees of bureaucratized organizations ususally view their occupations as careers according to Weber (Merton et. al., 1952; Gerth and Mills, 1946).

Schools are usually operated by school administrators who view their positions as careers. Most schools maintain an organizational

hierarchy with a superintendent of schools occupying the highest position. Various divisions exist that perform specialized tasks. For example, most modern schools operate an instructional and a business unit. Moreover, a set of rules and procedures exists that provide direction for the completion of school tasks. With rare exceptions, schools are today grouped together into larger organizational units usually known as school districts, or in some cases, systems. As schools have evolved in most states, three levels of school governance have been established: a state-level department of education; an intermediate or regional educational agency or unit; and, the local school district or system (Sergiovanni, et. al., 1980).

Milstein (1976) reported that 32 states operate a tri-level system of school governance, while 17 have a two-level system with no intermediate unit. One state, Hawaii, has a single, unified state system. Each of these school organizations has developed and been permitted to operate administrative units that perform specific, complex duties mandated or authorized by state and/or federal laws or regulations.

As schools established themselves as bureaucracies, two distinct patterns of development emerged. Callahan (1962), Cremin (1961), and Tyack (1974) reported the development of schools in urban areas of America, where the process of bureaucratization began during the industrialization period of American history. Jaggers (1934), Cooper (1954), and McClure (1956) discussed the development of schools in rural regions of America. Rural schools did not develop organizationally in the same manner as urban schools. The intermediate education unit has been identified by these scholars as a school organization that greatly influenced the organizational growth and development of rural schools. The intermediate education units' organizational development was also influenced by its relationship with rural education.

In California, the intermediate education unit is known as the County Superintendent of Schools Office, an organization created by the California Legislature in 1852 (Cloud, 1952). Since then, it has grown and evolved from a provider of educational support services to rural school districts, to a major element in the delivery of

specialized educational programs (Hoffman, 1977). A County Superintendent of Schools Office operates in each of the 58 counties of California. Most are complex, multi-unit, bureaucracies. In all but the most rural counties, each County Superintendent of Schools Office employs many administrators, instructional specialists, teachers, and various kinds of classified support personnel. These offices typically operate with multi-million dollar budgets derived from the state allocated funds for education. The services and programs they provide are mandated or authorized by state, or in some cases, federal laws or regulations. Some services and activities are provided by contracts between County Offices, local school districts, and in some instances, private schools (Muelder, 1981).

The development of organizations has been of continuing interest to scholars and researchers. Selznick (1949), Gouldner (1964), and more recently, Smith and Keith (1971) and Sproul and Weiner (1978), have reported historical and ethnographic data in order to indicate the bureaucratization of the organizations they have studied. Selznick demonstrated how cooptation leads to both organizational survival and growth. Gouldner described the sequential developments of organizational features which bureaucratize organizations. Sproul and Weiner presented a graphic account of the process by which "organized anarchies" achieve a bureaucratic structure. And, while researching innovation in an ethnographic study of a non-structured elementary school, Smith and Keith reported that the school became bureaucratized.

Several other scholars and researchers have presented important information pertaining to bureaucratic organizations. For example, Blau and Scott (1962) and later Katz and Kahn (1966) developed typologies that identified types of bureaucracies based upon bureaucratic characteristics. Two years later, Carlson (1964) reported the development of a typology of service organizations that classied them according to who benefited from their participation with the bureaucracy.

Carlson suggested that schools belong to what he described as "domestic" organizations. According to his model, four types of service organizations exist. Of concern to this work are his Type I and Type IV organizations. Type I organizations are classified as "wild" and are competitive in that they must compete with peer organizations to attract clients. Type IV organizations, on the other hand, are not

competitive and are insured of existence due to the fact that they are mandated to perform their services and clients are required to participate in their activities. Carlson categorized schools as Type IV organizations. He suggested that since Type IV organizations did not need to concern themselves with maintenance functions, they were less likely to be motivatedto insure the quality of the service they provided. Hence, school organizations as bureaucracies, according to Carlson, are not concerned with organizational maintenance features and survival.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The data were collected from interviews, historical works, documents, scholarly works, and empirical studies. Specifically data were sought that would identify the external and internal factors responsible for the process of bureaucratization as it occurred in a county office of education.

A total of 26 interviews were completed (see Appendix A). All but three of the interviews were recorded, with the permission of the subject, and subsequently transcribed by a professional secretary. Follow-up interviews were conducted by telephone or in person whenever additional information was found necessary. All interviews were conducted by the writer. A semi-structured format was utilized that included a brief explanation of the research effort. General questions, that in most cases were formulated prior to the interview and based upon the background of the subject, were employed in an open-ended manner to initiate spontaneous conversation. Specific questions that directly addressed pertinent issues were asked, as necessary, during the conversations.

Initial interviews generally lasted from an hour to an hour and one-half. In one case, the interview led to an all-day visit which was exceptionally productive since it provided a great deal of insight into the legislative process as it occurs in California.

During and after the data collection, the data were examined and re-examined. An intense effort was made to discover the presence and influence of bureaucratic features on the county schools office. Also, the data were examined to determine the presence of specific themes, such as major events and/or changes in procedures, repeated or des-

criptive phrases, or stories about historical events.

As information was collected, historical data were compared with interview information to increase accuracy and insure the validity of reported information. For example, historical data derived from official documents prepared within the organization in past years were studied. The Common School Reports, submitted by early county superintendents to the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, were read in Sacramento. The minutes from County Board of Education meetings were examined for details that described the development of organizational events. The Biennial Reports of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction were researched for information regarding the County Office in Riverside County.

Since this study was performed in an identified school organization, care was taken to insure the protection of all subjects who were interviewed. All interview subjects were assured that interview data were for an academic research work and their individual identities would remain confidential.

Also, since the writer is an administrator in the county office under study, care was taken to inform persons interviewed, in and out of the organization, about the nature and purpose of the research. Of the organizational members interviewed, only three were known on other than a professional acquaintance level prior to the study interview. Nevertheless, all interview data were cross-checked and verified with documentary evidence when and wherever possible. Because of these precautions, it is hoped that personal bias has been minimized.

THE SETTING

The County Superintendent of Schools Office in Riverside County was established when the county of Riverside was created in 1893. It began as a very small unit with a single organization member, the County Superintendent of Schools. In 1983, this office employed, on a full-time basis, 824 people. Moreover, this County Superintendent of Schools Office has historically provided support services and programs to the rural schools and small school districts within the county. As the office developed, it established an administrative hierarchy, various divisions that complete specialized tasks, and a system of rules and procedures.

During the 1880's and 1890's, many parts of Southern California

experienced an intense period of population increase. The western portions of Riverside County displayed significant development during those years. However, appreciable growth was not evidenced in the eastern sections of the county until after the the Second World War when the county tripled in the next decade (Hendrick, I., 1975; Covel, 1977). Table 1 presents a graphic account of the growth rate from 1890 to 1980 in two cities in Riverside County. The city of Riverside, located in the western section of the county, grew rapidly from the 1890's until the 1970's; the city of Indio, in the eastern portion of the county, did not display much growth until after 1960. The eastern portion of Riverside County is a desert region and accounts for more than 65 percent of the land area in the county. Not until after the introduction of air-conditioning and home refrigeration systems that allowed pleasant, year-round living, did the desert areas of Riverside County develop (Nordland, 1983).

It is within this mixed geographic setting that the County Superintendent of Schools Office for Riverside County has existed for 90 years. Since its creation, the County Office has witnessed the organizational development and bureacratization of rural and urban school districts. During the 1982-83 school year, the school districts within the county ranged in size from small, rural schoold districts of less than 300 pupils to large, urban school systems of over 25,000 ADA. Historically, these school districts have received support services from the County Office. While a few operate in an independent manner, most continue to receive such services. The expansion of the County Office has occurred in relationship with the development of the schools districts in the county.

THE BUREAUCRATIZATION OF A COUNTY SCHOOLS OFFICE

The data were analyzed to determine: (1) the process by which this office became a large, complex, multi-unit bureaucracy; (2) the external and internal factors responsible for the bureaucratization as it occurred within this county office; and, (3) the implications the data from this study have for the field of school administration.

The External Factors

The bureaucratization of a county office is affected by three external factors: (1) the increasing complexity of the society in which the county office exists; (2) the enactment of legislation that

TABLE I

CENSUS FOR RIVERSIDE AND INDIO

1890 - 1980

Year	City	
	Riverside	Indio
1890	4,683	--
1900	7,973	100
1910	15,212	--
1920	19,341	--
1930	29,625	1,524
1940	34,696	--
1950	46,738	5,300
1960	84,332	9,745
1966	--	14,600
1970	140,089	--
1976	--	19,097
1980	171,000	23,500

SOURCES: Public Policy Toward the Education of Non-White Minority Group Children in California, 1849-1970. National Institute Of Education; Project No. NE-G-00-3-0082; Irving G. Hendrick, Principal Investigator, School of Education, University of California, Riverside, Riverside, California, March, 1975. pp. 151,173,200,222.
Susan Williams, Principal Planner, Planning Department, City of Indio, Indio, California, December, 1982.

either mandates or authorizes certain educational functions to be conducted by the county office; and (3) the interaction and relationship between and with schools and the State Department of Education.

The increasing complexity of society. Weber (1946; 1952) felt organizations become increasingly bureaucratic as the society in which they exist becomes more complex. Schools exist today in vastly different conditions as compared with the 1890's when the County Office in Riverside County was established. It is likely that society has exceeded, in every aspect of life, the wildest expectations of educators who lived during the 1890's.

In 1894, for instance, the Riverside County Superintendent of Schools, Lyman Gregory, M.D., stated in an annual report to the Superintendent of Public Instruction, that of the 62 school buildings in Riverside County, less than half had indoor toilet facilities (Common School Report, Riverside County, 1894). In 1983, an Assistant Superintendent in this county office demonstrated computer equipment valued at more than four million dollars. This equipment alone accounted for some 600 million dollars worth of school district monies. The total Riverside County schools budget in 1893-94 was $155,381 (Common School Report, Riverside County, 1894).

As the educational needs of a society become increasingly complex, so too does the organization of schools. Harper (1965) wrote that as schools developed in size, they incorporated bureaucratic features. He suggested that as more and more pupils were enrolled and served by schools, more buildings were built and more teachers and other support personnel were employed.

The educational services provided by the County Office in Riverside County have become increasingly complex. The increase in pupil enrollment in the early years of this century has been attributed to an increased interest in education and to compulsory attendance laws. Table 2 presents a graphic account of the county's growth in pupil enrollment, teacher employment, number of school districts, and education expenditures from 1894 through 1944 (when the function of this county office began to shift and change).

The amount of money spent to educate Riverside County pupils during the first half of the century is also reported in Table 2 by ten year periods. Since the amount of money spent by an organization

Table 2

The County Superintendent of Schools Office

Riverside County

1893-94 to 1943-44

years by 10	Number of schools	Number of pupils	Number of teachers	Total expenditures	Total of Co. staff
1893-94	62	4,247	110	$155,381	1
1903-04	74	4,156	142	110,664	1
1913-14	90	6,296	288	434,692	2
1923-24	97	13,816	505	1,620,383	5
1933-34	96	19,789	784	1,573,660	8
1943-44	84	31,696	1100	2,746,150	10

Source: Common School Reports, Riverside County. Archieves, State of California, Sacramento, California.

is an accepted standard for measuring bureaucratic growth (Larkey, Stolp and Winer, 1982), it is plain that the bureaucratic development of the Riverside County Schools Office has been profound.

Prior to the 1940's, this county office primarily provided curricular support to rural school districts. An attendance supervisor was employed to supervise pupil attendance and attendance reporting county-wide in accordance with school laws. Rural supervisors visited teachers throughout the county and provided them with support in curricular areas.

The employment of specialists such as rural supervisors accounted for the early growth in this county office. The services provided by specialists were generally sold to school districts. In the early 1900's, county superintendents were permitted by school law to withhold agreed upon amounts of state monies allocated to local school districts for the purpose of paying rural or attendance supervisors. Because of their more ample resources, the larger urban school districts usually did not receive direct services of this kind from the county unless they agreed to contract for them. Nevertheless, as rural schools in Riverside County developed and became larger, they often decided to retain and contract for some services they had previously received from the county. For example, virtually all districts in the desert areas have continued to contract for, and receive, speech therapy services.

In 1947, the County School Service Fund was established by the California Legislature (Hoffman, 1977). This fund provided county offices with the monies necessary to employ additional staff to provide needed support services to local school districts.

In 1949 the provision of educational services for the mentally retarded children of this state was mandated by school law. Due to the low incidence of these pupils in the general population, small, rural school districts within Riverside County depended upon the county office for this educational service. Beginning in the 1950-51 school year, teachers were employed by the County Superintendent who provided classroom programs for mentally retarded pupils.

Legislation was enacted in 1958 that authorized county superintendents to operate juvenile court school programs. During the 1958-59 school year, the County Board of Education, in a cooperative

effort with the Riverside County Probation Department, assumed operation of the juvenile court schools located in various parts of the county. This event occurred after an extensive study was conducted by the County Board of Education. The study revealed that many of the pupils enrolled in court school programs, which were operated by local school districts, actually lived in other school district attendance areas. This expanded enrollment developed as a result of the growth occurring within the county.

The result of assuming the operation of these programs was organizational growth for the County Office. These two programs, education for the mentally retarded and operation of juvenile court schools, led to the establishment of the Division of Special Schools and Services during the 1960-61 school year. These programs necessitated the employment of teachers and additional support staff related to the programs.

In more recent years, various programs have been developed in response to needs perceived at the state and federal levels. Special programs were created and made available to schools that sought funding to operate them. Table 3 displays the growth in this County Office in the different divisions from the 1950's through the 1980's. As can be seen, the influence of these programs was dramatic. Not only did the respective divisions grow, but so did support divisions within the office.

The development of modern technology within the society also had an impact on the growth of the County Office. This is reflected in the establishment and growth of the Division of Data Processing. As early as 1959, members of the State Department of Education sponsored a pilot project to determine the feasibility of incorporating a data processing system for a state-wide recordkeeping project (Bushnell and Howe, 1964). The concept proved viable and regional data centers were established throughout the state. This County Office was identified as a center in early 1967. An interview with an assistant superintendent revealed that the data division began with two people during the 1967-68 school year. By 1982-83 the division employed in excess of 30 people.

As increases in modern technology promoted changes within the society, educational services expanded and schools developed pro-

Table 3

The County Superintendent of Schools Office

Riverside County

1953-54 to 1979-80

years by 5	division or department	personnel totals	Total Co. Office
1953-54	administration	4	40
	instruction	14	
	out of office	6	
	business services	10	
1958-59	business	5	51
	instruction	16	
	teachers	5	
	classified	19	
	business services	6	
1963-64	superintendent's staff	4	78
	business	16	
	instruction	17	
	pupil personnel	11	
	branch offices	9	
	special schools	12	
1968-69	superintendent's staff	4	155
	administration and business	16	
	school accounting	14	
	educational services	29	
	exceptional pupils	59	
	branch offices	11	
	special schools	21	
1973-74	superintendent's staff	4	315
	administration and business	73	
	educational services	44	
	special schools and services	171	
	ROP and vocational education	26	
1979-80	superintendent's staff	7	608
	personnel	13	
	administration and business	109	
	educational services	135	
	special schools and service	343	

Source: "Public School Directory for Riverside County, California, 1950 to 1983"

grams to meet these educational needs. New services in turn resulted in the employment of new and more personnel. In view of these findings, the following proposition is advanced:

I. When the complexity and technology of a society increases, the County Office will provide new educational services and employ additional personnel.

Legislated mandates and authorizations for educational services.

All of the functions provided by the County Office have their origins in some form of legislative authorization. The services are either mandated, and therefore required, or they are permissive. Mandated services are activities that are required to be performed by a county superintendent of schools office. An example today is the calculation of the revenue limits for school district income. On the other hand, a permissive service is one that a county office may elect ot provide if the school districts receiving service contract for it. These services or authorizations are permissive in the sense that they are not required to be provided by a county superintendent of schools office.

In 1893, 24 educational activities were required to be completed, several on an annual basis, by the county superintendents in California. By 1933, the figure had risen to 44, and by 1953, 71 major educational responsibilities were required of county superintendents. Dixon (1975) indicated that by 1975, 319 specific sections of statues and regulations pertained to activities mandated for performance by county superintendents of schools offices in this state. Moreover, Dixon indicated that these activities were related to at least 21 general functions provided by county offices. Additionally, Dixon reported that 87 other laws had been enacted to incorporate county offices into the mainstream of public education in California (Muelder, 1981).

In recent years, several pieces of legislation have been enacted in the area of special education (Neale, 1981). At least 61 laws pertaining to the educational rights of handicapped pupils were enacted between 1975 and 1980. Following the enactment of Public Law 94-142 in 1975, these laws mandated the provision of special education programs for exceptional pupils. The development of special education programs in this office is reflected in the dramatic growth of the Division Of Special Schools and Services, as depicted in Table 3. Between the 1968-69 school year and the 1979-80 school year, this

division grew from 59 to 343 employees.

Hoffman (1977) and others have reported upon the effects that various pieces of legislation have mande upon the County Superintendent of Schools Offices in California. The growth and development of county offices has clearly been related to enacted legislation. New legislation that has promoted the delivery of specialized programs, such as special education, has caused the state legislature to view County Offices as unique delivery systems for educational services.

Moreover, growth in recent years in county offices has also stemmed from the development of a sense of political awareness on the part of county superintendents. Increasingly, county superintendents have been successful politically in proclaiming their usefulness before legislators. When legislation was being developed for special education, staff members of the Riverside County Office were involved with the development of that legislation.

Similarly, a state official discussed how several pieces of legislation he authored in the early 1970's were defeated due to the clout of county superintendents and their respective staffs.

Hence, the enactment of various pieces of legislation that have authorized or mandated services, have caused County Superintendent of Schools Offices to employ additional personnel. In Riverside County, each new program or service resulted in the employment of new personnel. It may therefore, be concluded that the expansion of the County Office resulted, in part from new activities that were authorized by school laws. It is therefore advanced:

II. When new educational services are authorized or mandated in legislation, then county offices will need to employ additional personnel to provide new services.

The interface and relationship with schools and the State Department of Education. The way in which schools and the State Department of Education interact or develop relationships with county offices, seem to influence the manner in which county offices develop.

Ferrier (1937) and Cloud (1952) reported that county offices were established as the intermediate education unit in California's school governance structure. County offices were developed to interface with local school districts and provided a coordination with the State Department of Education. The County Office in Riverside County is one

of 58 intermediate education units in California. This interface is partially responsible for the bureaucratization of the County Office in Riverside County.

A deputy superintendent for administration in the State Department of Education reported upon the role the county offices play in fiscal matters, the more traditional role that has been the main purpose of county offices for several years in California.

Several of the services provided by the Riverside County Office are shared with other county offices. For example, an assistant superintendent reported upon the early arrangements agreed upon between two county superintendents concerning their joint venture in data processing and instructional television.

Cooper (1954) and McLure (1956) reported that county administrative units evolved as support organizations for rural school districts. Due to legal restrictions, the large, urban, city school districts were not able to rely upon County Superintendents of Schools Offices for many of the services provided to small, rural school districts. Consequently, large school districts have historically shared a different relationship with county offices. This is evident in the development of the County Office in Riverside County, where some areas of the county remain rural in nature. The larger, more urban, school districts have maintained a somewhat different relationship with the County Office. While some county services are mandated for all schools, large school districts are not as dependent upon the County Office as are small school districts.

The provision of services to rural school districts began in the 1920's with the employment of curriculum specialists, who served as rural supervisors, and pupil personnel specialists, who provided health and guidance services to pupils in rural school districts. Many of the school districts in Riverside County continue to depend upon the County Office for such services. As educational needs in Riverside County increased, more extensive services were provided. The provision of these additional services caused the County Office to increase in size. Table 4 reflects the growth in this office since the 1890's; Table 3 depicts the same growth patterns since the 1950's. These data provide evidence of growth and display how it has been related to the provision of new services.

Table 4

Riverside County Superintendent of Schools

County Office Staff - 1894 to 1949

position	1894	1899	1904	1909	1914	1919	1924	1929	1934	1939	1944	1949
Superintendent	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Deputy Supt.				x	x	x	x	xx	xx	xx	xxx	xx
Rural Supervisors												xx
Lower grade							x	x	x	x		
Upper grade								x	x	x		
P.E.							x	x	x	x		x
Music									x	x	x	x
Attendance							x	x	x	x	x	x
Asst. Attd.												x
Art										x	x	x
Coord. Course Study											x	x
Research/Guidance											x	x
School Nurse							x				x	xx
Director A/V.												x
Asst. A/V												x
Asst. Superintendent												x
Home Teacher												x
Steno clerk												x
Sr. Bk keeper												x
Typist												x
Totals:	1	1	1	2	2	2	5	7	8	9	10	21

Source: "Public Schools Directory for Riverside County, California, 1893 to 1949"

The interface, maintained between the County Superintendent's Office and the schools in the county, have remained relatively constant ever since the first support services developed in the 1920's. During the 1950's and 1960's, when many of Riverside County's small school districts unified into larger, more self-sufficient school systems, several remained dependent on the County Office for certain direct services. Many of the medium and small size districts, even though unified, continued to contract for a variety of services provided by the County Office. These services included school financial services, personnel services, curriculum services, and instructional programs.

The data collected in this study demonstrated the continuing dependent nature of many school districts upon the Riverside County Office. These findings indicated that the interface and interaction shared by a county office with other schools and the State Department of Education not only influences, but serves to shape, the growth and development of a county office. The development of the Riverside County Office has been directly related to its role in providing services and programs to school districts in the county, especially small, rural school districts, and its interaction with the State Department of Education. It is therefore, advanced:

III. When a county office interacts with other schools or the State Department of Education to provide educational services or programs, then its growth will be related to the amount of such services it provides.

Internal Factors

Several internal factors appear to be responsible for the bureaucratization of the Riverside County Office. However, it must be noted initially that the internal factors involved in the process of bureaucratization are directly related to the external factors. The early years of operation of this County Office verified this assertion. The development of the County Office remained essentially unchanged for the first 50 years of its operation. It was not until after the Second World War, when the County of Riverside experienced considerable growth, that change became pronounced. It is proposed:

IV. When the external factors responsible for growth and development within a county office occur, a series of internal factors will be set in motion that will cause the county office to bureaucratize.

The internal factors responsible for the bureaucratization of the County Office in Riverside County are: (1) the quality of leadership; (2) the interaction between the County Superintendent of Schools Office and the County Board of Education; (3) the establishment and development of organizational tasks; (4) the establishment and development of organizational control; and (5) the establishment and development of organizational maintenance.

The quality of leadership. Different kinds of leaders with specific leadership styles appear necessary at various times in the development of a school. Charismatic leaders are administrators who, by virtue of their leadership, are able to introduce changes that are accepted and traditionalized in the organization by its members. Weber (Merton, et. al., 1952; Gerth and Mills, 1946) maintained that charismatic leaders or administrators may produce changes in organizations. But, he believed that following their tenure, a period of adjustment was necessary when the organization traditionalized or routinized the changes. This routinization period represented a time of developing acceptance, during which the organizational changes were granted authority. Only during times of economic growth, according to Weber, was it possible for charismatic leadership to be followed by leaders who introduced more changes that became traditionalized. In such organizational periods, change itself could become traditionalized within the organization as long as the economic growth of the organization continued.

Data collected here provides evidence of different periods of charismatic leadership in which bureaucratic changes were made within the Riverside County Office. The early periods of change were followed by times of routinization. However, subsequent change periods were superceded by periods of continued change. During these change periods the organization experienced considerable financial growth, and the concept of continual change became routinized.

The early years of the Riverside County Office were characterized by a succession of superintendents who alternately introduced changes into this organization. The first superintendent, Lyman Gregory, M.D., did little more than establish the first County Board of Education and hold the original meetings. Following his uneventful 18 month superintendency, Edward Hyatt was elected County Superintendent. Hyatt in-

troduced a series of important changes. These included: establishment of the position of deputy superintendent; re-designing the administration procedures for the eighth grade examinations county-wide; concept of interaction with other county offices on matters of mutual concern. In 1906, Hyatt was elected State Superintendent of Public Instruction. His successor, Raymond Cree was a former student of Hyatt's. Cree during his 12 year superintendency made very few changes in the operation of the county office. His tenure as County Superintendent represents the first era of routinization of changes introduced by Hyatt.

Following Cree, Ira C. Landis became County Superintendent in Riverside County. Landis instituted significant changes in the office, and appears to have been a charismatic leader like Hyatt. Landis was responsible for the first major expansion in the organization. It was during his tenure that support services for rural school districts was established. Each of the services he instituted developed following the enactment of various pieces of legislation that permitted county superintendents to provide such services (Hoffman, 1977; Muelder, 1981). While Landis was County Superintendent for only seven years, he, nevertheless, established several new positions in the office. These people provided new services and included: a supervisor of attendance; a rural supervisor; a physical education supervisor; and, a school nurse.

In 1926, Ezra E. Smith was elected County Superintendent of Schools. Smith held the longest tenure in this office to date. He was County Superintendent for 25 years. While the County Office grew from six to 21 employees during his superintendency, the services provided did not change appreciably. As displayed in Table 4, the personnel growth occurred in the 1940's when the various support services began to expand after the establishment of new funding sources for county offices.

The majority of Smith's superintendency was a period of routinization. From 1926 until the late 1940's, the changes instituted in the office by Landis were traditionalized by Smith.

However, beginning in 1951, the County Office entered a period of charismatic leadership, marked by dramatic expansion, change and fiscal growth. Ray Johnson, elected County Superintendent in 1950, was a charismatic leader who introduced bureaucratic organization in the office. He organized it into departments and divisions, instituted rules and

procedures, and established the use of forms and recordkeeping. The early development of operational programs began under Johnson's leadership.

Figure 1 is a reproduction of an organizational chart developed by Johnson in 1956. The organizational structure began to resemble that of a school district under his leadership. As teachers, principals, and specialists were employed, Johnson established different departments, similar to those found in large, urban school districts.

Moreover, during Johnson's tenure, the County Board of Education was reorganized under legislative mandate into an elected, lay board. During his superintendency, Johnson instituted bureaucratic changes that were traditionalized and remain part of the office.

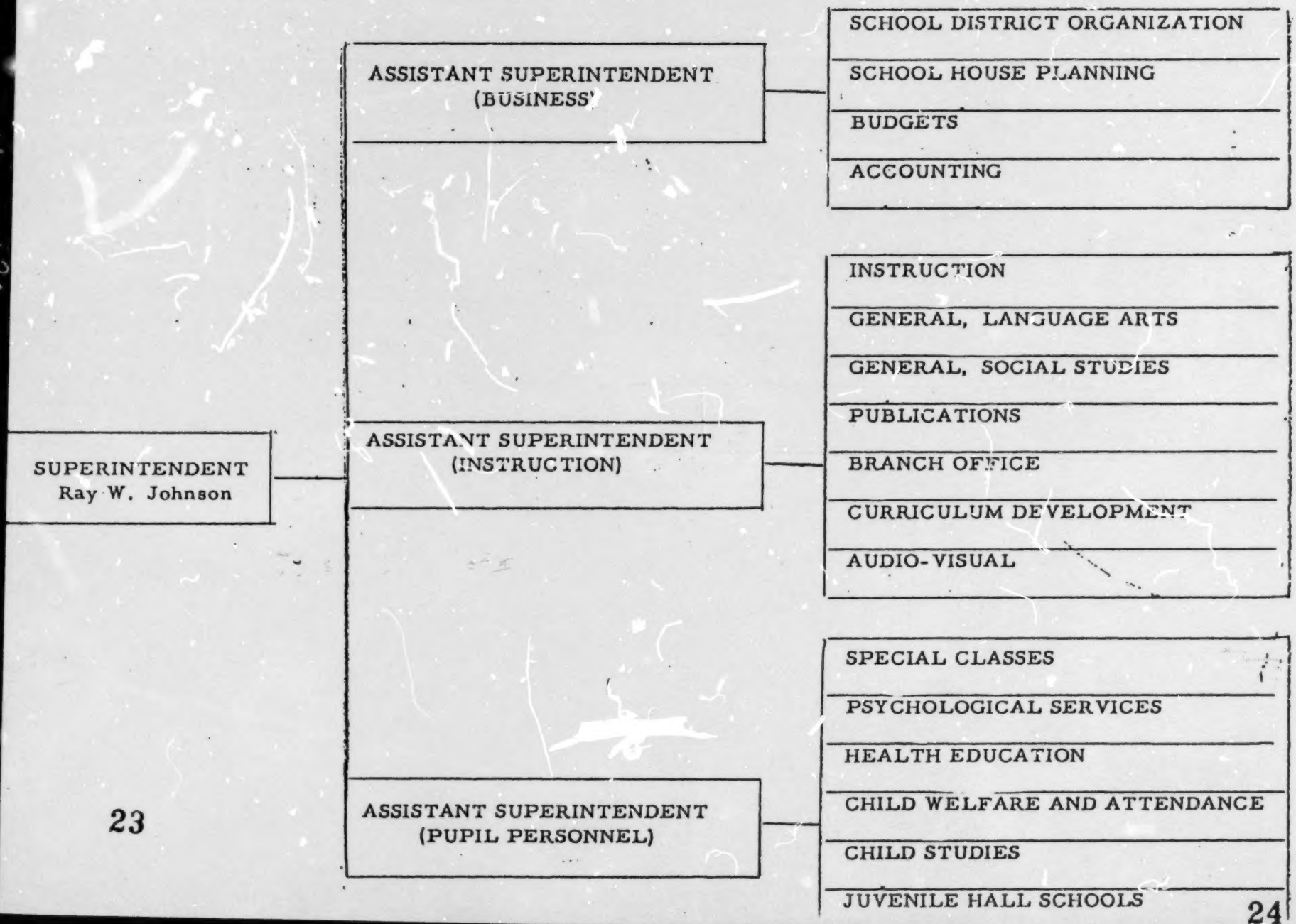
Interestingly, Johnson was succeeded by a charismatic leader, Leonard Grindstaff, who was appointed to office upon Johnson's resignation. One period of charismatic leadership was followed by a second period of such administration. The County Office remained in an expansion mode under Grindstaff's leadership and he instituted several changes too. He was responsible for the major development that occurred in the operational programs. Moreover, he, in particular, expanded the development of the curriculum division. As more and more funding became available with the passage of various pieces of legislation, Grindstaff managed to secure funding necessary to begin various kinds and types of programs in the Riverside County Office.

Table 3 displays the expansion, due to the changes in the County Office, that occurred under Grindstaff's leadership. It seems evident that he was a charismatic leader.

Upon Grindstaff's death, Don F. Kenny, the present County Superintendent was appointed to office. Kenny has not only maintained the expansion of the office, but he has implemented new operational programs and made significant changes in the operation of the County Office.

In 1975, Kenny made one of the most significant organizational changes that has occurred in the history of the County Office. He was able to establish fiscal independence for the County Schools Office. Prior to this major event, the County Office was fiscally responsible to county government, and therefore, did not have direct control of its budget. Moreover, the County Office could not own

Figure 1


SUPERINTENDENT
Ray W. Johnson
ASSISTANT SUPERINTENDENT (BUSINESS)
SCHOOL DISTRICT ORGANIZATION
SCHOOL HOUSE PLANNING
BUDGETS
ACCOUNTING
ASSISTANT SUPERINTENDENT (INSTRUCTION)
INSTRUCTION
GENERAL, LANGUAGE ARTS
GENERAL, SOCIAL STUDIES
PUBLICATIONS
BRANCH OFFICE
CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT
AUDIO-VISUAL
ASSISTANT SUPERINTENDENT (PUPIL PERSONNEL)
SPECIAL CLASSES
PSYCHOLOGICAL SERVICES
HEALTH EDUCATION
CHILD WELFARE AND ATTENDANCE
CHILD STUDIES
JUVENILE HALL SCHOOLS

property. While taxation was legally permissive for certain kinds of school programs, the County Board of Education and the County Superintendent of Schools did not have authorization to levy a school tax to support the office. Fiscal independence eliminated this dependency.

The years of Kenny's superintendency have witnessed such organizational developments as the creation of the Regional Occupation Program. This operational program, known as ROP, provides direct vocational instruction to high school pupils throughout the county in local school districts. Moreover, a construction program has resulted in the building of a new main office complex, a desert branch office facility, and several special school sites in various locations throughout the county. The new programs and services are the result of this office's attempts to continue to meet the changing needs of the school districts within the county. The County Office created new programs and services as legislation was enacted that permitted them. The concepts of growth, expansion, and change have become traditionalized in this office.

The expansion of the County Office then, began with Hyatt, who created the position of deputy superintendent. Then, Landis introduced the provision of support services to rural school districts during the 1920's, and another expansion occurred. Next, during the 1940's, funding sources developed that permitted the employment of additional specialists to provide more support services to school districts. During the 1950's, Johnson organized the growth within the office into various subunits. He instituted a new internal organization and established divisions and departments that completed specific tasks. Later, Grindstaff promoted the development of operational programs to better meet the identified needs of school districts as permitted under new legislation. Some of the programs he initiated were later mandated by the State Legislature, such as Special Education. The programs established and developed by Johnson, Grindstaff, and Kenny have required the employment of additional personnel. In this manner, the Riverside County Schools Office developed into a large, complex, multi-unit, bureaucracy that employs several hundred people. It is therefore advanced:

V. When charismatic leadership is present in a county office, then changes will be instituted that result in new programs and services.

When a charismatic leader is succeeded by a charismatic leader, the organization continues to expand and to experience change that is instituted by the new leader. In the County Office, each of the last three county superintendents have been charismatic leaders. They have implemented important changes that have become traditionalized. This finding supports Weber's contention that during periods of fiscal growth and general good economy, charismatic leaders will be able to institute changes in organizations. When this occurs, the concept of change as an organizational feature will become traditionalized and routinized. It is therefore advanced:

VI. When there is a succession of charismatic leaders who establish changes that promote expansion within a county office, then the concept of change and expansion will become routinized.

The interaction with the County Board of Education. The Riverside County Superintendent of Schools and the members of the County Board of Education are elected by the voters of the county. Operational authority is shared between the County Superintendent and the County Board of Education. The concept of shared authority for an organization was described as "cooptation" by Selznick (1949). The County Superintendent serves as the secretary to the County Board of Education; each has specific duties defined in the Education Code. While the Superintendent and the Board have many shared responsibilities, they also have some separate duties. This shared authority has accounted for some organizational features that emerged as the County Office became bureaucratized.

For example, the tenure of county superintendents has averaged slightly over ten years. In its 90 year history there have been eight superintendents. This, in itself, is unusual. When a superintendent is not directly responsible to the Board of Education for the activities performed within the school, certain professional freedoms, not generally afforded to school superintendents, may develop. These freedoms allow or encourage a superintendent to institute organizational changes. Therefore, certain services or programs that might not other wise be undertaken may be attempted in this kind of atmosphere. The county superintendents instituted their

major expansion of office responsibilities during an era immediately following the County Board of Education's transition from an appointed, professional body, to an elected lay one. The newly developed and elected County Board established its role and duties during a period in which the concpet of organizational growth was readily accepted. To the new County Board the expansion of the County Office was an established and accepted organizational behavior. To date, the lay County Board has witnessed only an expansion mode.

Prior to 1956, the County Board of Education was composed of educators appointed to terms by the county superintendent. This group was and remains somewhat different in organization, structure, and function from a regular school board.

An important difference is the fact that the members of the County Board do not become directly involved with the activity occurring within the County Office. Superintendents Johnson and Grindstaff educated the members of their boards about the various activities and matters pertaining to the County Office. The Board members perceived the superintendent as an expert and allowed him professional freedom. The meeting minutes of the County Board of Education display repeated references to presentations about various activities conducted within the County Office. It was in this manner that the County Superintendents educated the board members about matters the superintendent felt the board should be aware of in their role as a county board.

Hence, the County Board of Education has not been directly involved in the operation of the County Office, but has granted the superintendents freedom to establish changes in that office. County Superintendents have, therefore, maintained a certain autonomy from the board. County Superintendents have operated the office and reported their activity to the board. It is therefore advanced:

VII. When a county superintendetn of schools and the county board of education are both elected by the voters of the county, then a condition of "cooptation" exists.

VIII. When a condition of "cooptation" exists in a county office, then the county superintendent retains a substantial amount of professional autonomy for the operation of that office.

The establishment and development of organizational tasks. Expansion results when a county office develops new or reorganizes prior educational tasks. As new programs or services are established, ad-

ditional tasks are developed not only in the new program, but also in support services provided within the office. Generally, new skills or areas of expertise are required. As discussed by Weber (Merton et. al., 1952; Gerth and Mills, 1946) bureaucratic organizations employ experts trained to complete complex organizational tasks. Additionally, he suggested that organizational tasks should be specialized and assigned to specific units or departments within the organization for completion. As the County Office developed, additional tasks were completed by individuals with specific skills and expertise. Later, sub-units were assigned responsibility for the completion of various organizational tasks.

Weber (Gerth and Mills, 1946) identified the concept of recordkeeping as a major bureaucratic function. When Johnson began to initiate bureaucratic structure into the office, he established the concept of paperwork, recordkeeping, and completion of specific forms and the like. As organizational tasks became more complex and involved more functions, additional people were employed.

As new organizational functions were developed, an internal structure emerged to accommodate task responsibilities given to new sub-units. For example, the employment of teachers in the juvenile court schools led to the eventual development of the Division of Special Schools during the 1960-61 school year. A director was appointed two years later when additional court school programs were created. This person supervised the teachers and principals in these special schools. Later, as the department grew, and more services were developed that required similar training for employment, the entire devision was reorganized. When special education programs were established, teachers with specific teaching skills were employed to provide instructional programs. Later, school nurses and school psychologists, speech therapists, and program specialists were employed to provide support services to teachers and principals employed in this division. As each specialization area grew, supervisors were appointed and departments created. In view of such findings, the following is advanced:

IX. When new organizational tasks develop that require specific expertise within a county office, then additional personnel will be employed.

The establishment and development of organizational control. Both Weber (Merton et. al., 1952; Gerth and Mills, 1946) and Barnard (1938)

perceived authority within an organization as originating in the administrative hierarchy. As various organizational positions develop they are placed somewhere along a chain-of-command. Each administrator reports to a superordinate administrator. Moreover, all organizational members report to a designated supervisor. This system develops to insure a method of control within an organization.

According to Weber, administrators are responsible for the structuring of organizational tasks. This includes the development of rules and regulations that identify procedures for accomplishing organizational tasks. Rules and regulations are developed to insure efficiency, and detail decision-making.

In the historical development of the County Office, the development of these features clearly represented bureaucratization.

Initially, the County Office consisted of a single member, the County Superintendent. Then, the position of Deputy Superintendent, as an assistant, was created. Later, several new positions, occupied by specialists who reported directly to the Superintendent, were developed. Although the basic bureaucratic structure was present even in the early years of this office, the office lacked certain important bureaucractic features. Only after considerable growth began to take place in the late 1940's did true bureaucratic structure begin to emerge.

Not until Johnson's superintendency, beginning in 1951, did this County Office display evidence of an administrative hierarchy. Only after the various sub-units were established did a hierarchy develop. Once departments were created, Johnson began to institute procedures, rules and regulations.

As the organization continued to expand during Grindstaff's tenure, the establishment of bureaucratic features was more evident. During the development of various divisions and departments, bureaucratic features were implemented. An assistant superintendent (1983) reported that as divisions were created, staffing patterns, policies, and rules and procedures were defined. As personnel were hired and placed into different departments, expansion occurred. This led to the re-establishment of various sub-units as major departments or divisions. Control was instituted by the development of a hierarchy of authority and a systme of rules and regulations that identified procedures. As more and more personnel were employed in various new work stations, both inside the office

and elsewhere about the county, the policies and procedures were modified to reflect new organizational needs.

The County Office maintains a bureaucratized structure today that is intended to insure organizational control. A formal administrative hierarchy exists. Policies and procedures performed by personnel are detailed in a massive handbook, Procedures and Policies: The Office of the Riverside County Superintendent of Schools. This document is revised from time to time to comply with changes in policy or school law. In view of these findings, the following is advanced:

X. When a county office expands, the need to insure organizational control will then develop and the following bureaucratic features will be established:

1. a hierarchy of administrative authority;
2. a chain-of-command that provides supervision to all office members;
3. a system of rules, regulations and procedures that determines the completion of office tasks.

Organizational maintenance. All organizations must institute maintenance features that insure their survival. However, Carlson (1964) suggested that schools are not concerned with maintenance features since their survival is assured by law. He grouped schools together into one category. However, the data analyzed in this study suggests a different conclusion than that reached by Carlson. The changes that were implemented and the expansion which occurred, due to charismatic leadership, demonstrated the County Office was concerned with maintaining client satisfaction. The continued provision of non-mandated services, that were delivered by contractual arrangement, depended upon client satisfaction to insure their future delivery. The rural school districts in the county relied heavily upon the provision of educational services by the County Office, especially for those services these districts could not afford to provide for themselves. The Riverside County Office developed and expanded by virtue of the provision of these services and programs. It was, then, by necessity, concerned with satisfying its school district clients with the services it delivered. Moreover, the county superintendents were interested in developing new ways to provide new services, requested by the school districts, as the districts identified the need for new services. The concept of organizational responsiveness to client identified needs is a characteristic of a "wild" organization (Carlson, 1964). By meeting the needs of identified clients,

an organization is considered to improve its ability to survive. The expansion of the County Office appears to have developed by its ability to establish programs and services that its clients, school districts, sought.

The historical development of the Division of Data Processing clearly illustrated this point. Several school districts within Riverside County had indicated an interest in having their mandated record-keeping functions performed by the Data Processing Department of the County Office. These districts entered into contracts for the provision of this service.

This department began in a cooperative program with county government, a relationship which nearly destroyed the program. The county government unit provided service to various departments within their own organization, and were not concerned with client satisfaction as the County Schools staff, who sold their services to school districts. The County Office staff was accountable to their clients for the delivery of a service. An assistant superintendent explained the situation as follows:

> The county government had a 1400 series computer and they needed to expand and they were bringing in a 360. So we agreed that we would have a joint center. So we brought in a 360 and they brought in a 360. They provided the operation and we put together the joint center. That went into operation in 1968 and we operated that way for the next four years, but they darn near took us under. We began expanding at the expense of each other. We had completely different priorities. The county government was entirely an in-house organization, in with county administration. They could more or less self-contain their time lines. And, although they had certain things to meet, they never understood that our group was an out-of-house situation. Our users out there were separately booked entities. They were school districts and we didn't have somebody that could say to you, 'Don't worry about it, we'll get it done when we finish it'--we had deadlines. When they needed reports and things, they had to have them. So, we finally went out on our own.

In order for the County Office to meet the needs of its school district clients, change had to occur. By making changes, the department of Data Processing was able to insure its future and promote its expansion. Client satisfaction and change were necessary to insure organizational maintenance.

The findings of this study suggest that the Riverside County Superintendent of Schools Office has been concerned with insuring the satisfaction of its school district clients for the services and pro-

rams it provides. In so doing, the County Office has assumed "wild" characteristics in order to insure its ability to continue in the provision of non-mandated services. It is therefore advanced:

XI. When a county office contracts to provide non-mandated educational services to school districts and its ability to continue to provide these services is dependent upon client satisfaction, then the county office will develop characteristics of a "wild" service organization.

THE PROCESS OF BUREAUCRATIZATION

The organizational characteristics of a county office described in this study have not been previously reported. To date, all studies concerning county offices in California have been descriptive, reporting the types of services rendered by different county office to school districts and the State Department of Education (Lieberman, 1982; Muelder, 1981; Farrar, 1980; Cowan, 1978; Hoffman, 1973, 1977; Garrison, 1973; Trillingham, 1972; Wright, 1971; "The Committee of Ten," 1966; Little, Inc., 1964).

This investigation demonstrated findings that support Weber's perceptions on routinization. An organization may either enter a peroid of routinization following a charismatic leader, or it may continue in a period of charismatic leadership with a new charismatic administrator. When this event occurs, the concept of change will become routinized in the organization. Furthermore, this work suggested that rural and urban school districts in Riverside County developed in an organizationally different manner. Rural school districts have relied upon the County Office for the provision of many services that urban schools have provided for themselves. Consequently, a dependent relationship developed, and continues, between various school districts and the County Office.

Additionally, it is shown that the County Office has evolved as a "wild" service organization, as defined by Carlson (1964). In order to insure the continued provision of non-mandated educational services, it has become necessary that the school districts, who are its clients and contract for services, be satisfied with the quality of the provided services. In order to do this, the office has been able to change and create new services, as necessary, to meet the needs of its clients. This ability to make changes or establish new services accounts for the expansion of this County Office.

The external and internal factors responsible for the bureaucrat-

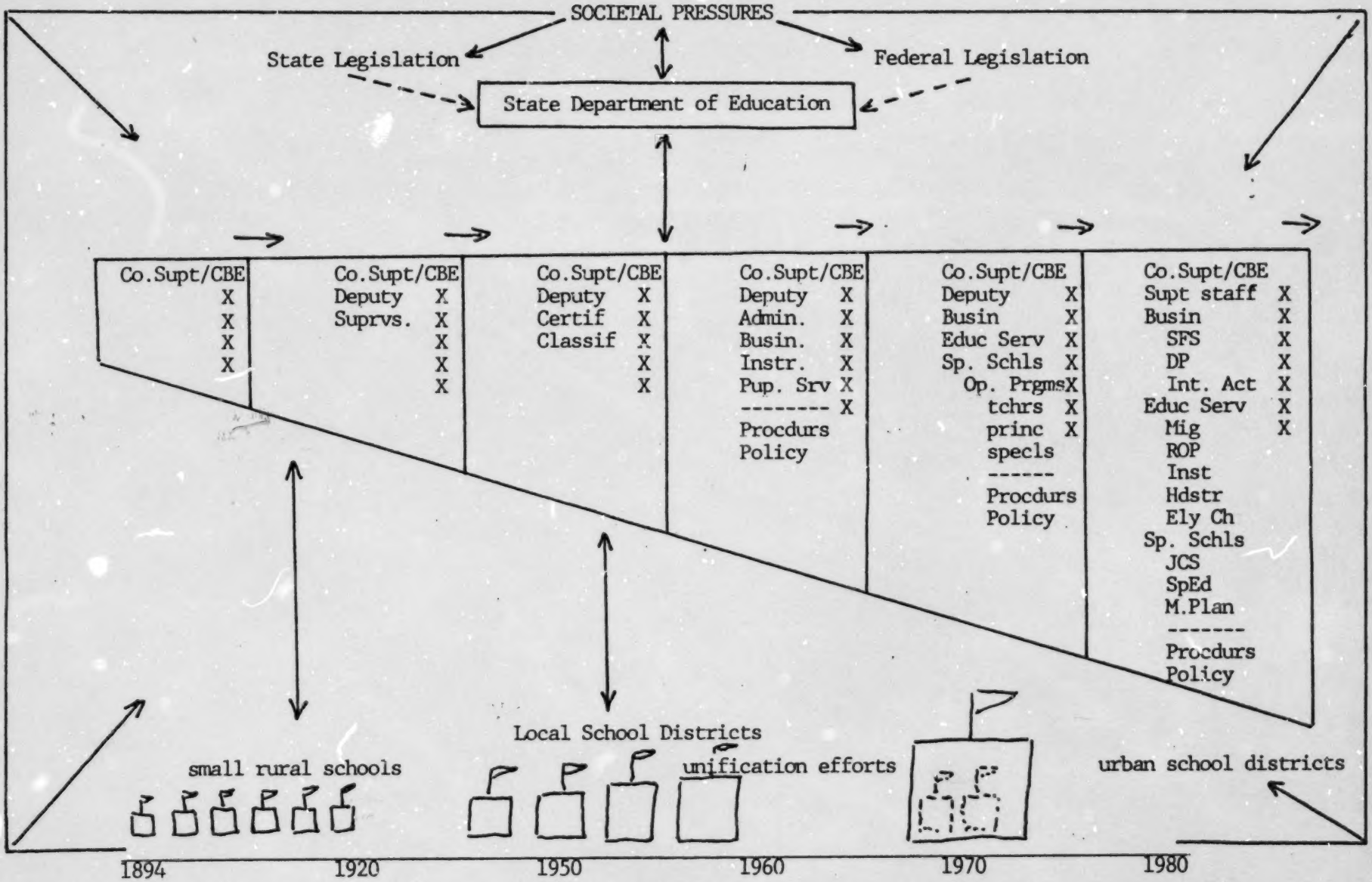
ization of the County Office have been identified. Eleven propositions were proposed that explain this process as it occurred in this office. While each of the factors maintains some degree of responsibility for the process, the external factors must be present in order for the internal factors to occur. For example, societal demands and legislative authorizations are necessary before a county office may decide to provide a new program. There must exist a method of monetary compensation to sustain the employment of additional county office personnel required to provide the new program. Yet, once the need for the service is established, and a vehicle for delivery is identified, the internal factors commence and the bureaucratization process takes place.

Figure 2 represents the process of bureaucratization as it occurred within the County Office in Riverside County. The process began with the identification of organizational tasks that evolved as the result of recognized societal needs. Barnard (1938) suggested that organizations are created and established to complete identified tasks that require a group effort or shared assistance. The identification within a society of a service that should be provided by a county office, serves to create a dependency upon that county office for the provision of that service. In this study, the required service that was identified was the provision of educational support services to rural school districts.

Once the needs of these services were established in the society, then a mechanism that supplied the means to formulate and sustain support of the services in the County Office was necessary. This was accomplished by the enactment of legislation that authorized the provision of the services and provided a source of funding.

After the County Office was identified to provide these new services, the employment of personnel with certain types of expertise was necessary. The new personnel were assigned to specific units within the office where they performed specialized tasks. As more personnel were employed, these units became departments and subsequently divisions.

When the different departments and divisions developed, the need for internal structure and control became apparent. An administrative hierarchy of authority was created. A chain-of-command was developed that identified supervision for all members of the County Office staff. A system of rules, regulations and procedures was created that defined


SOCIETAL PRESSURES
State Legislation
Federal Legislation
State Department of Education
Co.Supt/CBE
X
X
X
X
Co.Supt/CBE
Deputy X
Suprvs. X
X
X
X
Co.Supt/CBE
Deputy X
Certif X
Classif X
X
X
Co.Supt/CBE
Deputy X
Admin. X
Busin. X
Instr. X
Pup. Srv X
-------- X
Procdurs
Policy
Co.Supt/CBE
Deputy X
Busin X
Educ Serv X
Sp. Schls X
Op. Prgms X
tchrs X
princ X
specls

Procdurs
Policy
Co.Supt/CBE
Supt staff X
Busin X
SFS X
DP X
Int. Act X
Educ Serv X
Mig X
ROP
Inst
Hdstr
Ely Ch
Sp. Schls
JCS
SpEd
M.Plan

Procdurs
Policy
small rural schools
Local School Districts
unification efforts
urban school districts
1894
1920
1950
1960
1970
1980

Figure 2

organizational decision-making, coordinated organizational tasks, and promoted efficiency.

The establishment of these features constituted bureaucratization. Once bureaucratized, the County Office developed maintenance features that served to insure client satisfaction as a means to continue the provision of the services to schools. In the final analysis, a set of complicated, inter-dependent relationships developed, and continue, that promote the existence of both the County Office and the school districts it serves.

It is therefore concluded that this office became bureaucratized as it sought to provide authorized, but non-mandated educational support services to the school districts of Riverside County. Originally these services were provided to rural school districts, but in recent years, even larger, urban school districts have contracted for services with the County Office. The different development of rural schools, in contrast to urban schools, seems due to their dependent relationship with the County Office.

The dependency upon the county services by rural school districts promoted the expansion of this office. The County Office developed characteristics of a "wild" service organization as it became concerned with client satisfaction. Moreover, a succession of charismatic leaders promoted "wild" organizational characteristics, and influenced bureaucratization.

Expansion of the County Office, then, resulted from the interaction of specific external and internal factors. The presence of a condition of cooptation, various periods of charismatic leadership and periods of routinization, were significant features in promoting the expansion and bureaucratization observed.

IMPLICATIONS

The implications and significance of this work are found in three areas: (1) training; (2) practice; and (3) research.

Training. The training of school adminstrators may need to address more intensively, the concept of organizational types within the field of education. The findings suggest that not all schools have experienced the same kind of organizational development. Moreover, the kinds of organizational tasks required of an administrator may vary, depending upon the kind of school organization. Different kinds of or-

ganizational tasks may be required of an adminstrator depending upon the type of school organization in which the administrator is employed.

Practice. The school adminstrator who practices within a particular type of school may need to be more aware of organizational differences between school types. The provision of autonomy to school superintendents in school organizations where cooptation exists may influence organizational attractiveness for some people. The quality of leadership in such an organization might also prove important to consider prior to accepting employment. An administrator in a county office may need to be more aware of the responsibility to insure client satisfaction to school districts contracting for services.

Whether a school district is urban or rural, may be an issue of concern to administrators at various organizational levels. The relationship a school district maintains with a county office may be of concern to a prospective superintendent, and the organizational history of a school district may suggest certain organizational concerns to some people as well. The dependent nature of a rural school district may prove too burdensome to some individuals.

A county office may, on the other hand, present an innovative and interesting school setting for an administrator concerned with developing new programs. Therefore, a school administrator may find it necessary to be aware of the nature and type of school being considered before accepting employment.

Research. Several areas of importance for future research seem indicated by the findings of this work. Since the investigation dealt with a single county office, comparative research with another county office seems essential before any substantial conclusions can be determined.

Futher, the suggested difference between the development of urban and rural school districts should be subjected to a comparative study to see if such assumptions have merit or value. The discovery of what appear to be indications that some school organizations may have "wild" characteristics, also needs to be subjected to further study and examination. Another county office or a large, urban school district providing similar services, might prove to be an appropriate unit for such analysis. Then it could be determined if "wild" organizational characteristics may develop in service organizations, such as schools, previously considered to be "domestic". Perhaps such school organizations

may in fact be creative and innovative units that have developed within a "domestic" framework. If such is the case, then the provision of new funding sources might allow these units to become the catalyst necessary to improve the educational system of this state.

And finally, the condition of cooptation, especially as it relates to superintendent tenure and consistency within a school organization appears to need further study. If professional autonomy encourages charismatic school administrators to implement changes that improve the quality of educational services provided by a school, then perhaps the current methods of superintendent appointment. needs further study.

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APPENDIX A

INTERVIEWS

Interviews were conducted by the writer in the offices of the respected interviewees, with the exception of those noted. The writer traveled to Sacramento, California and interviewed state officials in their offices. All interviews were conducted between September, 1982 and February 1983.

Interviewee	Location
District Superintendent A	Eastern Riverside County
District Superintendent B	Eastern Riverside County
District Superintendent C (retired)	Western Riverside County
County Superintendent A	Riverside
County Superintendent B	Riverside
Associate Superintendent	Riverside
Assistant Superintendent A	Riverside
Assistant Superintendent B	Riverside
Finance Director	Riverside
Personnel Director	Riverside
Curriculum Coordinator	Riverside
Curriculum Coordinator (retired)	Riverside
Deputy Superintendent Secretary (retired)	Riverside
Assistant Superintendent, State Department	Sacramento
Deputy Superintendent, State Department	Sacramento (telephone interview)
Deputy Superintendent, State Department	Sacramento (telephone interview)
Legislative Aide, Senator	Sacramento
Legislative Lobbyist	Sacramento
Elected State Official	Sacramento
Local Historian	Eastern Riverside County

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEWS

Interviewee	Location
County Board of Education Member, retired	Riverside County
County Board of Education Member, current	Riverside County
Local School District Board Member	Riverside County
Assistant Superintendent C, retired	Riverside
Parent, Special Education pupil	Riverside County, west
Parent, Special Education pupil	Riverside County, east